[what follows is for "Advocate", if you see fit.]

We have been agreeably surprised, of late ~~[illegible]~~, at the altered tone of many of the leading English journals towards America, and at the manifest change in English feeling generally towards us. I say surprised, because it was hardly to have been looked for that the London Quarterly Review, so soon after its article of Democracy on its Trial, should have published another so eminently dispassionate, sensible, fair, & appreciative of the tenthousand difficulties of, our un-military country was obliged on a sudden to encounter, (& which it has done so much to surmount,) as that entitled The Struggle in America. It was published, I suppose, in the January No. of the Quarterly - [or is it in Feb.? that it appears!] - but somehow I failed to see it there, and it has recently come under my notice in a re-publication here - the "Eclectic Magazine" for March. Have you seen the article? Its estimate of the Southern character is true & just, & contrasts well with the abominably false and very pro-slavery articles in Blackwood Magazine. Its rebukes of the London Times are severe & I think must have been telling. It deals with the whole 'Trent' affair in a cool & dignified way, so unlike that of the English journals generally, and interprets reasonably, & fairly, the motive of the American Captain, and the feelings of our people in that case. Not once, I think, in the whole article, is the American people stigmatized as "a mob" - the current name for us, the year past,

with the bulk of English journals writers and speakers. Tho' the article is not free from errors - as for instance where it says that the Officers in the Northern Army are not appointed, but elected (!) and that Gen. Fremont spent much & did nothing, it is (with a few exceptions) very correct, eminently candid, & must do much to allay the bitter feeling which has grown up here. The London Times itself has seemingly gone about on a new tack, - under what influences I don't pretend to know. We, here, are inclined to attribute a good deal of influence to J. S. Mill's article in Fraser's Magazine on "The Contest in America" - (a portion of which I see copied in the "Advocate" for March - and think that he and Mr. Bright and George Thompson (with others doubtless) may fairly divide the honor of saving England from rushing blindfold upon a career which, however harmful to us it had been, must have in the long run been very much more to it's own loss and dishonour. Mr. Mill had the comprehensive view of the whole question, the calm self-possession, and the high moral courage which enabled him to say - "There is no denying that our attitude towards the contending parties (I mean our moral attitude, for politically there was no other course open to us than neutrality) has not been that which becomes a people who are as sincere enemies of Slavery as the English really are, and have made as great sacrifices to put an end to it where they could." I humbly submit that this is essentially what, ever since last summer, I have been

~~reasonably~~ endeavouring to set forth in all my letters to my English correspondents. I have had little disposition to complain that England showed our Government and People, no more sympathy, but I have contended that her lack of moral discrimination in regard to an entire struggle — its origin, history, progress, & conduct — was absolutely astounding and confounding, while the spirit in which the "Trent" affair was generally (as we had reason to think) received, resented, and seized upon as an opportunity, certainly fully justified the very courteously expressed but still keen rebuke of the Comte de Gasparin, quoted in the Quarterly's article before mentioned, and to which the Quarterly takes no exception;- "England (Says Gasparin) has been full of condescension and forbearance for America when She was strong. If they should have the misfortune to have no more condescension and forbearance now she is weakened, they would authorize suppositions much more fatal to their honor than is the grave error (yet easily reparable with good will on both sides) just committed by Capt. Wilkes." - The course of the English Government for the past few months has been more impartial than we had been led to expect, & leaves us nothing of material importance to take exception to. At one time we supposed it ~~would~~ was about to make a serious disturbance about the sinking of the stone-laden ships off Charleston. I do not

know just on what grounds that question now rests, and so perhaps had better say nothing, - except that, in such a matter as that, I do not think the American people would consent to any European interference or influence.

For two months past, the army & navy of the U. have been steadily and uninterruptedly gaining important advantages, taking possession of important forts, towns, cities, & waters, and in several well contested battles (with perhaps a single exception) have in every case shown themselves superior in force, discipline, and endurance to the Rebel troops. The battle in Arkansas in which Gen. Sterling Price was utterly routed, and Gens. McCulloch & McIntosh both said to have been killed was fought with every advantage of position & numbers with the rebels, & was kept up vigorously 3 days. The capture of Newbern, N. C. on the Atlantic Coast (or rather on one of the rivers emptying into Pamlico Sound) also showed very great efficiency & coolness on the part of the New England & New York troops, and was a great mortification to the Rebels. The whole Eastern part of Florida has fallen into the hands of our Naval Commanders, including the towns of St. Augustine, St. Mary's, Fernandina, Brunswick (Ga.), & other places. Perhaps this uninterrupted career of success is destined to have some check. We are now anxiously awaiting tidings from our main army - the "Army of the Potomac" - which has

moved on Southerly, upon the track of the retreating
rebel
army which has so long occupied Manassas, and
the region of Virginia extending thence easterly to the
Potomac at Aquia Creek & westwardly to Harper's
Ferry, – all which places they have abandoned, falling
back to occupy a new (& some say better) line of
defence on the Rappahannock river. – One
– the exception above referred to –
serious misfortune, as you have seen, has
attended our arms, – the Steam-battery "Virginia"
("Virginia" which was the U. S. Steam frigate "Merrimac",
cut down to her gun-Deck, roofed in, & plated all
over with thick iron, & armed with 10 very heavy guns)
came out of Norfolk, ran into the fine U.S. frigate
"Cumberland", & with her sharp, steel-armed prow
cut her open & sunk her, – then attacked the
U. S. Sloop of War "Congress", already crippled by an
engagement with two smaller iron-plated boats,
& took & burnt her. The next day she renewed the
fight, expecting to sink or drive off all the U. S. vessels
in Hampton Roads, including the splendid steam frigate "Minnesota",
when Fortunately arrived the new
Ericsson Steam battery "Monitor", also iron-plated,
of less than half the size
of the "Virginia", but which stood up to her so vigorously and
persistently that, after a 4 hours fight, the latter drew
off into her lair at Norfolk, badly injured. Nothing
of this would have happened with ordinary precaution
on the part of our Secretary of the Navy; – the whole country
knew that the "Merrimac" was completed, and liable to
come out any day. The "Monitor" was 24 hours too late,

Since writing the foregoing we hear of a sharp battle ~~[illegible]~~ on Virginia soil, at Winchester, a short distance from the Charlestown, where the hero Captain John Brown suffered martyrdom, which is said to have resulted in the complete discomfiture of the rebel force, near 15.000 strong, while our forces are rated at 8000. The battle lasted an entire day, was hotly contested by the troops of Slavery, but they were obliged to yield and fly. ~~[illegible]~~

I should have mentioned, when writing of the article from the Quarterly Review, the ~~[illegible]~~ strong and truthful words of Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod, said to be "one of her Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland," which I have lately read with pleasure; — "a more uncalled-for or more unprincipled secession, or rather rebellion, against constitutional government, never has been recorded in the annals of history than that of the Southern States against the Federal Government;" whether "uncalled-for", certainly depends on the point of view, that of Slavery-perpetuation or that of Slavery-limitation, from which it is looked at; but none can dispute its "unprincipled" character. I have also read with interest the "Retrospect of the American Difficulty", in Macmillan's Magazine for February. It is quite sarcastic on Mr. Seward and his exposition of international law in the 'Trent' case, and upon Capt. Wilkes as well. Perhaps

the writer understands the case and the law better than Mr. Seward; - I do not feel equal to settling that point. But I cannot fail to notice his admission - all the ~~more~~ important ~~stronger~~ from the fact that he shows a disposition ~~occasionally~~ to make out as strong a case as may be against the United States - that "when the Secession ~~Ordinance~~ of the South took place, it was regarded with ~~suppressed~~ satisfaction by a large portion of the British public, who are weary of transatlantic arrogance, and glad to witness the embarrassment of a great & noisy democracy. x x x A cold justice was promised to the North in her Majesty's proclamation; but an edict which placed Southern privateers on a footing with Northern men-of-war, was itself, as the Cabinet of Washington not unnaturally complained, a semi-recognition of the South. While Ministers assumed this attitude of ostentatious impartiality, most influential English journals declared their adhesion to the cause of Confederate independence. War for the preservation of the Union was pronounced iniquitous & unjustifiable." In view of these very decided opinions of Mr. J. S. Mill, and of the writer last quoted, it does seem to me that the "Anti Slavery Advocate" is quite wide of the mark, in saying in its editorial article for March, that the unfavourable feeling in America towards England, since this war broke out, appears to be "totally destitute of reasonable foundation" - ~~with an exception~~ excepting

as regards the ~~Caribbean~~ a beer newspapers. With every emotion of my heart warmly grateful to England for what She has done in the past centuries for civil, social, & religious freedom, and especially for what She has so perseveringly fought and successfully accomplished, in abolishing the Slave Trade and Slavery itself wherever her power extended or her influence could reach, – with every pre-possession of my mind firmly engaged in behalf of the English people as a steadily progressive and truly liberty-loving people, I must nevertheless, testify against her course, as a nation, towards us as a nation, since the present Slaveholding rebellion broke out; and must declare my deep conviction that the words of Mill, Gasparin, & others of like tenor are not a jot strong, – and that the injured and indignant feeling which has nearly universally prevailed amongst us, towards England has had only too much foundation. But I repeat as I began, that we rejoice and are exceeding glad at the numerous evidences we are now receiving that the sober judgment of the thinking and right-feeling portion of the people is getting expression, is having marked effect, and is making itself felt even in quarters little accustomed, to yield to such influence. Every such expression, when obviously sincere, does great good in this country. There is a deep-seated animosity to England in America, as has been charged. The feelings engendered by the wars of 1775 & 1812 had almost wholly been obliterated & forgotten; but a bitter sense of them was forced upon us, when we came to see & understand the policy of England ~~towards us~~ & the feelings of so many of her people toward us. May the future be such as to send all such

resentful thoughts back into the oblivion, where every true friend of humanity would gladly bury them forever. The "Advocate"'s heart tribute to the ~~[illegible]~~ humanity & forbearance towards our foes, which our Government from the first has manifested, gives us much pleasure. We believe it true & fully merited; and when we consider the cruelties practised upon many Northern prisoners in Southern hands, the barbarities more than Savage committed in many instances upon the dead bodies of Northern soldiers, and the breach of faith committed by the rebel Power in regard to the exchange of prisoners, the employment of thousands of Indians to bring their ~~inhuman~~ savage customs & weapons to make the inhumanity of War still more inhuman, candour will admit that the patience and forbearance of our Northern Government & people have been put to the very severest test. - In corroboration of the "Advocate's" judgment on this point, I may quote the words of one whose opinion will, I am sure, have deserved weight with the Advocate's readers, - Rev. Samuel J. May of Syracuse, New York; - he says, in a private letter, - "My confidence in the strength and efficiency of a Democratic Government is enhanced fourfold by the conduct of the people through all their trials the last twelve months." Wendell Phillips has lately visited the city of Washington, I believe for the first time in his life. He went by invitation of a Lecture Committee of gentlemen, (some of them Members of Congress,) who for the first time established in Washington a Course of really free-

lectures,- I mean where the whole truth could be freely spoken as to Slavery. The whole course has been an important & spirited one- Rev. Dr. Cheever, Hon. Gerrit Smith, Horace Greeley, and other prominent and able champions of the Cause of Freedom, have appeared & been welcomed there. At length Phillips went,- yet with some misgivings in the part of his freinds as to the nature of his reception, ~~there~~, and whether his bold and graceful eloquence would find a just appreciation. But we were not long in suspense. A most crowded audience, composed of the most influential and respectable people of the city, assembled to hear him. He spoke upon the condition of the country, upon the manner in which the war had been conducted, criticised boldly the policy of the Government and of the Commander of the Army, indicated clearly the true policy of Emancipation, and - was applauded to the echo! Not a word, or hiss, of opposition came, every, The applause was unanimous and hearty. So great was the desire to hear him again, that he was prevailed upon to stay and give a second lecture in the same hall, - that of the Smithsonian Institution. A Sunday intervened, on which he visited one of the Massachusetts regiments, stated from on Virginia soil, and by request of the Officers addressed the men in a discourse appropriate to the day.- Meanwhile he visited the United States Senate Chamber. There the presiding officer,- who is the Vice President of the United States - left his seat and came upon the floor to greet him,- a distinguished attention, offered to but few. The Speaker of the House of Representatives entertained him at a dinner party, at which several distinguished gentlemen & ladies were present. By

appointment he visited the President of the United States; and they conversed quite fully upon the War, and its great objects. His second lecture was upon Toussaint L'Ouverture – wherein he contrasts that noble man with others who have had European reputations as ~~diplomatists~~ statesmen and as generals, and especially with Napoleon Buonaparte, and in which he demonstrates how favourably & how brightly the character of Toussaint appears in the contrast. And this lecture was heard by another crowd, in the city of Washington, and with great applause & delight. From Washington he went to Harrisburgh, ~~where~~ the seat of government of Pennsylvania. The Legislature of that State was in session, and the Senate offered its hall to Mr. Phillips in which to give a lecture. – At Cincinnati, a brutal and vulgar mob, instigated & hounded on, as we hear, by pro-slavery men from the opposite (or Kentucky) side of the river, was successful in breaking up the lecture he had commenced, ~~there~~, & endeavoured to inflict personal violence upon him; but the design was frustrated. He has been invited to lecture in all the principal cities of the West, and will, I doubt not, receive an enthusiastic welcome wherever he may go. – We look for no miracles; but we see everywhere signs & proofs of a very remarkable change in the public mind on this subject of Slavery. Very conservative men now say to me – "We are glad the President has made to the Slaveholding States the offer of aid, in every case in which they will make a beginning of the "abolishment" of slavery. But if these States refuse this fair offer, let the next Step be taken, & Slavery be terminated at any rate and without pecuniary help to the slaveholders."

[End of Abroad matter]

Finial P.S. Thank you for your photograph & Mrs. Webb's, a thousand times. They will receive a most hearty greeting at Leicester to-night, when I get home. Wallace and I are much struck with the close resemblance to Theodore Parker. Now we want one of you to put up in the Anti-Slavery Office, – but we must'nt ask for too many favours.

(End of this long yarn – writ. from next page.)

I thank you for the cordial welcome you gave to my wife & daughter, & am sorry they have been so taciturn, nay dumb. – I assure you they have something to say for themselves generally, & can talk to the point. – My wife sits, & knits for the Soldiers. Ada (which we pronounce in 2 syllables) though folding her arms is, on this side the water, a regular little bee for industry. And they will laugh, right merrily too, over your funny acct. of their behaviour in Dublin.

Thank you for all your sympathy, for your cordial kindness, – and with best regards to you all, I am

Ever & truly Yours

Sam. May Jr.

Mar. 28. – Just as I am closing this, the boy lays on my table your note of Mar. 3d, with the book for Ada. She will "jump for joy" at the sight of the nice handsome book.

Boston, Thursday, March 27. To-day has arrived your note of the 12th inst. with 4 enclosures, 3 of which I have despatched by mail and the 4th awaits Mr. Quincy here, whom, for some reason, I have not seen for several days. — I found no stamps enclosed, and only of this because you intended to send them — not that they were needed. I don't wish you ever to send stamps to pay your postage over here — I shall enclose herein 2/ in stamps, for the extra charge you label had to pay on one of mine. — You make no mention of Miss Bigg and what her 12/6 are for. —

I am sincerely sorry, and even grieved, if Mrs. Martin's feelings are hurt, or if it seems that we have been ungrateful; am much more sorry for the necessity laid upon us to speak as we did. But, my dear Mr. Webb, it had become necessary. One another had given, before, hints which Mrs. M. should have gra fully taken. All the reprehension & severe scolding (for I cannot call it less) which she visited upon us, on account of our Tariff (which the Abolitionists had no concern in, more than in the doings in Moon, & the discussion of which was really somewhat out of place in the Standard) — were borne without scarce a word of reply on our part. But, when this savage pitch of voice was resumed on the subject of Slavery, & of our National Struggle with the Slaveholders' Rebellion, and we treated really as underlings, & almost as Knew-nothings, it did not stand in our self-respect to be silent. You do not express it too strongly when you say the wrote "in the style of an angry governess to her pupils." That being the case, I do think no more than a fair rebuke was given; — if more, I should be extremely sorry. — In her reply to what the Standard first said, (and in a very supercilious manner, which however I wholly leave out of the case) she contradicted a statement of mine, point blank. I subsequently produced proof of what I said, — leaving it wholly to her to decide who was in the wrong. I am truly sorry, — I feel ashamed, — at the possibility even, of such things happening between & among those, who have the great Anti-Slavery Cause as a Bond of Union. But it was not of our seeking; we bore & forbore, until it became necessary to say plainly, that the tone must be changed if we were to respect & trust & work with one another. In my 2d piece in the Standard, I endeavored to express our sense of the long & remarkable ser vices Harriet Martineau has rendered to the cause of the People — of their R thier Comfort, their education, their happiness, the world over. — I w that disagreeable & painful duty of remonstrance had never been laid us. We do not the less honour & admire Harriet Martineau for her wonderful ex of self-sacrifice, & for her eminent services to all good Causes. We never shall for them. — But her correspondence in Standard had reached a point, clearly, which deprived it nearly its whole value. — Your eloquent tribute to her worth is all true and deserved. We knew it; & have never doubted it. And we lament the course which them have taken as much as you possibly can.